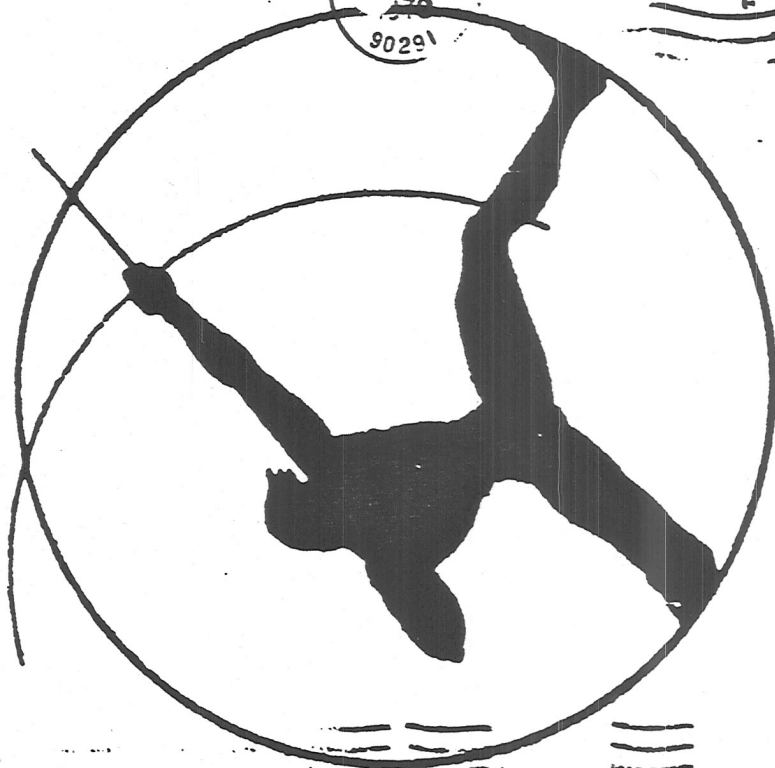


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Global unification is now a technological fact, escalating into greater social significance daily. The man on the moon physiologically cemented the global concept, and Nixon's State Of The World message gave an indication of things almost here. Such progress is of course desirable and long awaited, but due to the intellectual bankruptcy of our century and the ideological stagnation - the rampant "idiologist", spitting for short sighted nihilism - same man must be keenly aware of the subtle errors embedded in many "global" trends. Such errors must be identified and spotlighted now, for the impact of global unity will be affecting all men for the next several centuries.

Last issue EFFICACY offered a \$25 prize to anyone relating the 1970 Census who would give us an account of their prosecution. This offer still stands - even though we are aware that such efforts have not been numerous nor successful in the past. IT IS OUR BELIEF THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME POLITICAL IDEOLOGY HAS BEEN BROUGHT TO BEAR UPON THIS ISSUE WITH THE LIBERTARIAN "RESISTANCE CENSUS 70" EFFORT. So we hope to hear from you and your involvement.

As the Census occurs here in the U.S. for the 18th time since 1790, "heads are also being counted in some 90 other countries and territories - from the U.S.S.R. to Greenland - during this decennial year. When all the figuring is done, roughly half of the world's 3.6 billion people will have been accounted for. Census takers traveling on foot and horseback, by dropout canoe, reinder aid and helicopter will collect the raw statistics that will enable developing countries to chart their next five-year plans and industrial nations to study (among other things) the migratory patterns of their people.

"In many Communist countries there is little need for a head count, since everyone from newborns to nonagenarians must be registered with the police. Nonetheless, demographers in Czechoslovakia and Poland as well as in Russia hope to learn useful facts, including how many households have washing machines, radios and television sets.

MACHIAVELLIAN DEVICE: First undertaken as long ago as 3800 B.C. by the Babylonians and in 3000 B.C. by the Chinese, head counts have often proved unpopular because of their association in the public mind with taxation and tithing. When a national census was proposed to the British Parliament some 200 years ago, an enraged M.P. denounced the project as "totally subversive to the last remains of English liberty." Only in 1801 was the idea reluctantly accepted. The notion that the census is a Machiavellian device designed to enhance the power of the government is still strong (maybe because current governments are continuously becoming more criminal in their principles? Ed.): Machiavelli did, in fact, compile a statistical abstract for Germany and France in 1515 that might be called a forerunner of modern census analysis.

"In ancient times, people sometimes had to travel to their birthplace or family seat to be counted, as in the case of Mary and Joseph's eventual journey to Bethlehem. In the present day, many countries order their citizens to remain at home for a specified period to await the census taker. All Cubans will be virtually paralyzed on Census day this year except for ambulance drivers and census takers. In Mexico, fines for leaving one's house unoccupied on the vital day, Jan. 28, ran as high as \$800. - March 23

Yes, other nations invade the citizen's privacy by asking questions other than head count, and force compliance with fines. Such criminality by the state has been copied by America now with our new \$100 fine for refusing to answer personal questions. One wonders how long it will be before we adopt such obviously "practical" policies as the soviet home on census day - and, oh hell, just put everybody in one big labor camp.

Globalism is great, but only if men adopt principles of rational inter-behavior; of recognizing the natural individual, indivisible, inalienable, and hopefully inviolate rights of life, liberty and property. We must repeal such policies as compulsory census investigation of individual's personal lives.

By the way - since liberals oppose congressional investigations of people about their political beliefs; where is their indignation when government investigates the economic privacy of everybody? Could it be they believe only in freedom of thought, not of purchase; freedom of belief, but not of ambition; freedom of expression, but not of action?

PRIVATE MAIL COULD BE A PUBLIC BOON

By Melvin D. Barger
The FREEMAN - January '70



The postman is figuratively ringing twice in a number of American cities these days. One of the rings could be sweet music to citizens angered by the growing problems of the Federal postal system.

The new courier on the scene is the Independent Postal System of America, making its appointed rounds now in many cities and soon to open services in more. IPSA, established in February, 1968, is an upstart in the communications field and an infant among corporations. But it has made a sensational start and has all the earmarks - or perhaps postmarks - of being the right idea at the right time.

One man who obviously thinks so is its founder, 42-year-old Tom Murray, who already pictures IPSA jetting ahead into the billion-dollar class. Murray, a restless, entrepreneurial type, could be accused of exaggeration, except for several interesting facts. One, IPSA has already landed enough sales to produce \$1 million in profit during its first year of operation.

Two, the potential market is there; postal services run into billions and could go much higher in the years ahead. Three, public opinion is turning bitterly against the U. S. Post Office Department, and the times are right for constructive change.

The last item may turn out to be a matter of considerable importance to IPSA's future. Until a few years ago, the public accepted the government postal monopoly as a fact of life; some people even seemed to believe that only government had the competence to carry mail. A suggestion that private corporations could handle postal services with greater efficiency and economy was often hooded down; it was like suggesting that a private company take over the Washington Monument or the U. S. Coast Guard.

But a number of things have made a private mail system more acceptable in the public mind. Postal service seems to be deteriorating, or at least not keeping up with the noticeable advance in other services (such as the telephone system). The yearly postal deficits are always well-published, causing people to wonder frequently "why the Post Office can't at least pay

its own way." There have also been the annoying rate increases and raging legislative battle over proposed rate boosts for different classes of mail. Attempts to raise third-class rates have enraged business mailers, and efforts to change the admittedly low rates for publishers has probably contributed something to the bad press the Post Office has been getting.

There may also be some disillusionment over the frequent crusade to make the Post Office more businesslike, an effort that seem to be revived with each change of administration. There was an honest hope that Arthur E. Summerfield, a successful Michigan business man, might succeed in this when he joined the Cabinet in 1953 as President Eisenhower's Postmaster General. Summerfield did make some needed improvements in using private capital to provide for new post office building construction, but he also incurred the hostility of the postal unions and faced considerable political opposition to many of his plans. Summerfield's reign at the Post Office proved that the Department's problems couldn't be solved simply by putting an astute businessman in the head chair.

THE KAPPEL PROPOSAL

The latest play in the attempt to buck up the faltering Post Office was the proposal by the Kappel Commission to put the Department under a government corporation. Mr. Kappel, the retired board chairman of the giant American Telephone and Telegraph Company, was doubtlessly chosen to study the Post Office because of his own impressive career in a related communications field. The Kappel proposal now has the endorsement and active backing of President Nixon, but it faces stiff opposition in Congress and from the postal unions. Right now the Kappel plan appears dead. If organized along lines suggested by Mr. Kappel, the Post Office might conceivably become better administered, with less interference from Congress and more control over its own operations. However, the Kappel recommendation is essentially an attempt to remedy the shortcomings of a socialistic enterprise by converting it to another organizational form; it still rests on the delusion that socialism can be made to work if only the right combination of management and organization can be found.

PENNY-POSTAGE PAID, 5.

The question of private ownership of the Post Office did get an airing by Mr. Kappel,

who dismissed the idea of selling the Post Office because, with the Post Office's deficit, liabilities, and investment needs, "You couldn't sell it to anybody."

The fact that the question of "selling" the Post Office was even asked shows that there's growing interest in a private postal system. Mr. Kappel's answer revealed the philosophical limitations of a man who spent his own lifetime in a monopolistic enterprise, albeit a highly successful one. He did not seem to be thinking of the possibility that postal services could be supplied by new organizations, not just the one now in existence. He apparently could not bring himself to the point of proposing that anybody ought to be allowed to own any class of mail, that mail deliveries should not be a legal monopoly of either a public or a private organization.

FROM A BELLOVOY TO A MAILMAN

Against this background of mounting disaffection with the Post Office, Tom Murray's Independent system has come into existence. Murray had no previous postal experience and would have had trouble getting a minor position in the Federal System. An Irish immigrant, he came to America in 1950 and began his business career as a bellboy in a Detroit hotel. Before long, however, he had become manager, and after that his rise was spectacular. The Mayor of Detroit actually proclaimed a "Tom Murray Day" in 1955, in recognition of Murray's outstanding service in community affairs. He was soon hotel owner as well as manager.

Murray's interest in hotels eventually took him to Oklahoma City where a conversation over a cup of coffee finally nudged him into mailing business. A local businessman, Carroll Hinshaw, was complaining about his own growing difficulties with postal services. This was nothing new. But the complaints went a step further. Murray soon had some calculations and surveys which indicated that a private company might be able to carry third-class mail at lower rates than the government and still make a profit!

The figures fired Murray's imagination, particularly the business potential involved. Hotels and motels, as everybody knows, work in a field of fierce competition, with top limits on the growth that even the most successful firms can achieve. But here in the mailing field the potential market for third-class mail alone was in the billions. If a private company could break into the field and establish its own post-ition, it could not only share this market but

also participate in future growth of breakthrough portions.

A LOOPHOLE FOR DELIVERIES

But how could a private firm enter the field when legislation prohibited it? Private mailing companies had actually flourished in early America, but by the middle of the last century had been driven out of business by the Federal Private Express Statutes. How could Murray work his way around statutes that had barred other businessmen from the mails for so long?

His door of entry was third-class mail, which has been shrilly condemned as "junk mail" in recent years and at times has been held responsible for many of the Post Office Department's problems. There's a fine line between "third-class" mail and circulars. A business firm for example, has the legal right to deliver printed material to residences, but not to use the mailboxes. Murray dashed off to a Third-class Mailers' convention, and listened to their gripes and problems, and also found them receptive to the idea of a private delivery system.

"I felt that the Third-class Mailers had made a major error in permitting their products to be labeled 'junk,'" Murray says. "Third-class mail isn't junk, and it deserves its rightful place in the area of commerce."

Certain by now that he was on track, Murray found a group of backers who could put up \$50,000 immediately and underwrite an additional \$2 million for later expansion. By January, 1968, he had incorporated IPSA, opened offices in Oklahoma City, and announced plans to begin service in February. Deliveries would begin in the city, and then fan out to nearby states, with the long-range goal of becoming nationwide. As if to emphasize the nationwide goal, Murray chose an outline map of the U.S. for the system's trademark and insignia.

DISPOSABLE MAILBOXES

Announcement of the daring venture captured the public interest; yet it also seemed a too-risky exercise in audacity. Newsweek magazine called it a "showdown" with the Post Office, and hinted that Murray would be blocked by Federal authorities. Reporting that Murray had already signed delivery contracts with a rubber firm and an insurance company, Newsweek also cited a Post Office Department legal counsel's opinion to the effect that Murray's operations were illegal, that nobody but the Post Office has the right to carry any class of mail. The magazine also suggested that Murray would be courting real trouble when he began making delivery in home mailboxes.

If there was any showdown, nobody in IPSA's headquarters ever noticed, because the Independent System swung into operation on its announced starting date and was soon making almost routine coverage of most of Oklahoma City. Murray wisely avoided challenging the Post Office Department ruling on use of home mailboxes, and developed an attractive container which can be suspended from most door-knobs. The container not only protects the mail and other articles, but one side also serves as an advertisement for the Independent System. The other side has been sold as an advertisement for other firms, actually making the plastic container a profit item instead of an additional cost burden. IPSA would still like to use private mailboxes and is currently trying to get approval of a dual-compartment type, but the plastic bag is doing very well for the time being.

Murray's customer list multiplied almost magically, and by the end of the first year the system had served more than 100 clients and was operating in every major Oklahoma city as well as communities in Texas, Missouri, Ohio, Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Illinois, New York, and even Canada. The company was expanded rapidly by selling franchisees, and received hundreds of inquiries from private individuals seeking their own postmasterships. At the same time, IPSA was getting remarkable press attention, almost all of it favorable. Newsweek's follow-up article after IPSA's first year was largely a success story and other publications such as Saturday Review and Nation's Business saw a bright future for the Independent System, the latter calling it a possible end to the "30-year Postal Mess".

GUIDED BY THE MARKET

Surprisingly, however, many of the Independent System's operations seem to be similar to those of the Federal department. The couriers still travel on foot, and use vans closely resembling U.S. Postal vehicles. IPSA deliverymen and U.S. mailmen wear almost identical uniforms, walk the same routes, and are often chased by the same dogs. What innovations have given the Independent System an edge, allowing it to take business away from the government mails?

One advantage has been price. Generally, IPSA has been able to deliver third-class articles at about 90 per cent of the Federal rate. A 2½ ounce item, for example, can be delivered by IPSA for 3.3¢, versus 3.8¢ for the U.S. rate. More important, IPSA can guarantee a specific delivery date, which many business mailers such as local retailers must have in

publishing special sales and other events. The Independent System has no "first-class" mail taking precedence in employees' minds, and hence all mail is given the same attention.

Beyond that, IPSA's business-like approach to problems may be winning them some clients. IPSA salesmen are making regular calls on large business mailers, such as Sears Roebuck, making it clear that their patronage is wanted and appreciated and offering to make service as attractive as possible. Until now, it has been the business mailer who has had to go hat-in-hand to deal with Postal bureaucrats and to be reminded of his product's inferior status in Post Office operations. It must be refreshing to most of them not to hear the term "junk" anymore.

Is IPSA actually handling third-class mail more economically than the government? Probably, although nobody can prove it because the Federal System has no systematic approach to its own costs and cannot say for certain that any class of mail is profitable or unprofitable. As a politicalized institution, the Post Office has simply carried the mail at rates established by Congress, then appealed to the same Congress to make up its annual "deficit". Ever the deficit has been something of a myth however, because the Department doesn't follow customary accounting practices for its overall operations and cannot really be compared with a corporation of similar size. For one thing, capital expenditures for the Post Office have been intolerably low almost every year and there are no indications that Congress will be willing to make them any higher.

THE UNCERTAIN FUTURE

Where will it all end? Will Murray's independent System continue to flourish and grow until it replaces the Federal Post Office? Or will the two systems continue to operate side-by-side, with Murray's organization specializing in "third-class" and the U.S. Post Office carrying the rest of the mail?

Most likely, IPSA's growth and success will turn out to be a source of embarrassment to the Federal mail carriers. In time, the department might conceivably want to restrict IPSA's operations. But this would bring it into collision with public opinion, which wouldn't support favoring the government's Goliath at the expense of Murray's David. If anything, public opinion may veer in the direction of permitting Murray or anybody to haul all classes of mail. If so, this would be a tremendous victory for free enterprise, and would finally give liberals a chance to prove on a wide basis wh

they have always contended: that private businessmen can deliver the mail for a profit and give the consumer the same efficient service he gets in the delivery of other items.

Some persons believe that a private competitor may cause the Federal System to bestir itself to more efficiency. But don't look for it. The faults with the U.S. Post Office are the basic shortcomings of a socialistic, politicalized bureaucracy, and the officials and others working in the system, even if somehow they could know what ought to be done, are powerless to make the necessary changes. They simply can't make and carry out the day-to-day adjustments and decisions necessary to a good business operation. That's no surprise: it is the nature of socialism to centralize authority, to operate the price signals of the market, to encourage individual incentive, and to subsidize incompetence. Ironically, most of the schemes for correcting socialist excess - such as the Kappel plan for the Post Office - really involve creating some of the conditions that prevail as a matter of course in private, profit-minded corporations.

It is also unfortunate that most people think it will take Acts of Congress to give us better mail service. We could have it right now if Congress would only repeal some of the Acts it has already passed. We simply need the freedom to let anybody carry mail. Right now, Tom Murray seems to be doing a great job with the "junk" mail the U.S. Post Office doesn't want to handle. He might do even better if he could carry all classes of mail. And suppose a few other private carriers also got into the mail-carrying business? Who knows? Even Murray might do better under the lash of competition!

LIBERTARIANISM INTERNATIONAL

A Dutch Treat - Cheap Mail: From The Hague About 120 private do-it-yourself postal services in Holland are giving the Dutch post office a real headache.

Started by a factory worker who found a loophole in the postal law, the do-it-yourselfers are delivering millions of letters every day locally at rates lower than the normal postal charges.

Banks, insurance companies and big firms are now paying between 3d. and 4d. per letter according to the number to be delivered, but irrespective of size and weight, instead of the minimum of 7d. per letter at normal rate.

Delivery is usually made by pensioned postmen or other reliable staff and almost always on the same evening as received.

The loophole in the law which make these private delivery services possible is a clause which says that "business firms may deliver their own letters if they wish."

The postoffice admits they can do nothing to stop these private delivery services unless the law is changed. Their only reply so far has been to offer 30 per cent discount on postage to three banks - provided they deliver their mail, duly sorted, to the nearest postoffice.

"The promoter of a proposed 2½d. post service, Mr. Sidney Johnston, of Hawkhurst Close, Chelmsford, has been warned by the GPO that he risks a fine of up to £5 for each letter delivered. He intended to employ teachers, housewives and pensioners as his postmen. 'Now,' he says, 'I have had to drop the scheme.' " (England's SUNDAY TIMES)

The foregoing is but one example of the many actual case histories where during entrepreneurial individuals have arisen to challenge the monopolies of the Political-Economy State BY DIRECT COMPETITION. Repeatedly such men have been economically successful - within the limited loopholes of the law through which they have been able to avoid prosecution - only to be destroyed POLITICALLY by stiffened laws.

Such an end need not occur again if the Libertarian ideology can be heard, understood and bring its influence to bear in defense of these individuals - indeed focused sufficiently it may actually "repeal & reform" these economically duessing laws. The preceding article by a public relations representative stresses the relevance of public opinion in such cases as competition to entrenched bureaucracy.

EFFICACY is now preparing for publication a paper bound booklet entitled: **The Libertarian Casework Of COMPETITORS & RESISTORS TO THE POLITICAL-ECONOMY STATE.** This \$2.00 (revised prepublication price) booklet will make fascinating reading simply for the testament to man's jubilant spirit that it describes. But more devastating - it will make startling reading for the cynical spirit of your favorite disillusioned "liberal" or "socialist". Order your copy now at \$2.00. Anticipated publication date is Jan. '71. The price will go up then.

(All \$1.50 orders previously received are paid up.)

ANECDOTES OF EDISON

Galveston Daily News - Thurs., Jan. 3, 1889

How The Western Union Comes To Buy His Inventions

"Edison has been experimenting and studying and improving telegraphy ever since he was 19 years old. He patented some of his inventions. He left the Boston office to try to sell his multiplex system to the Western Union. He was a carefree looking young fellow when he walked into the office one day in New York and asked them if they wanted to buy a patent.

"What is it?" they asked.

"Why, a means of sending two messages over the same wire in different directions at the same time," said the young inventor.

"The Western Union officials lay back in their chairs and shouted in merriment.

"Don't bother us with such nonsense as that," said one at last.

"Mr. Edison tried to sell it to one of the rival companies that existed at the time. They also laughed to scorn the idea of doing such a feat.

"Well," remarked the inventor, as he turned carelessly away, "if you ever get anything the matter with your plant that you can't straighten out yourselves send around for me."

He took a little office and announced himself an electrical and telegraphic expert. Some time after the company had trouble with its Albany wire. The wire wasn't broken but wouldn't work, and several days investigation on the part of the company's electricians only served to puzzle them more. As a forlorn hope they sent for young Edison.

"How long will you give me?" he asked.

The manager laughed.

"Six hours?" asked Edison.

"The manager laughed louder and told him he'd need longer time than that. Edison sat down at the instrument, established communication with Albany by the way of Pitsburg, told the Albany office to put their best man at the instrument, and began a careful and rapid series of tests with all currents of all intensities.

He had his Pitsburg circuit instrument by his side and directed the Albany operator in each movement from his end. The steps were simultaneous, and the Albany man telegraphed the results of each test. Edison compared them, made calculations, and in two hours and a half told the officials that the trouble existed at a certain point he named on the line, and told them what it was. The officials telegraphed the

office nearest this point, and an hour later messages were tripping gaily between New York and Albany. The company made him their superintendent immediately. Now he was in a position to command respect and attention. He induced the companies to test his patents and sold them rapidly. He much improved his multiplex system and sold that to the Western Union at ten times what he would have taken for it at the time they laughed at his first proposition. He simply informs the Western Union when he has invented something new in telegraphy. Does it work? It works. How much? Hundred thousand. Check. That's the way he sells all his inventions nowadays.

UNBEATABLE COMBINATION

When the sanitation workers of New York City went on strike, the community was confronted with a calamitous pileup of garbage on its streets. Now a late press release tells of the garbage collection troubles of Madrid, Spain. But unlike New York, in Madrid, the sanitation workers of the city have competitors in the form of private garbage collectors.

According to the news report, "Madrid's 800 prosperous free lance garbage collectors... compete with the Municipal Sanitation Department in this capital of three million people." The freelancers are known in Spanish as the "traperos." They have been an institution of Madrid since the reign of King Charles III in the 18th Century. They are allowed to operate from dawn until 9 a.m. They collect garbage the same as they did in medieval times with donkey-drawn carts. They collect the equivalent of 35 to 70 cents monthly from each customer but that is not all. The trash they collect is a source of income. They use the perishable garbage to feed pigs, other items are sold to a processing plant, furniture and old clothes wind up at Madrid's flea market. The private enterprise garbage collectors of Madrid earn the equivalent of nearly \$200 monthly - a high income in Spain. This compares with an average wage for Madrid's sanitation workers of \$60 to \$70 a month.

In garbage collecting, as in every other walk of life, incentive and private enterprise are an unbeatable combination. If the municipal garbage collectors of Madrid go on strike, their private enterprise competitors will likely be only too good to take up the slack.

-From The Skanateles Press (N.Y.)
June 27, 1968

OBJECTIVISM AND ANARCHY

By Charles Jackson Wheeler

The thesis of this essay is that Objectivism and anarchy are incompatible. This incompatibility is of a logical nature and thus this essay shall have two sub-theses: that Objectivist political theory is logically valid, and that anarchism is logically invalid.

The purpose of this essay is to eradicate an unfortunate obfuscation which has caused many students of Objectivism in the United States to advocate a variant of anarchism known as "free market anarchism" or "competing agencies of retaliatory force," thereby disavowing the Objectivist concept of "limited" or "proper" government.

The major thrust of this essay is to state two crucial, major fallacies in free market anarchism which apodictically invalidate the theory. But before a demonstration of logical proofs with respect to these fallacies can be given, as well as those pertaining to a plethora of minor fallacies of which the theory and the theory's criticism of Objectivism are guilty, an explication of relevant concepts is necessary.

First, a very clear distinction must be made between the Objectivist definition of government and the concept of an Objectivist government.

To begin with, a definition is "a statement that identifies the nature of the units subsumed under a concept," (1) the purpose of which is "to distinguish a concept from all other concepts and thus to keep its units distinguished from all other existents." (2) Further, "a definition must identify the nature of the units, i.e., the essential characteristics without which the units would not be the kind of existents they are." (3).

Miss Rand has made reference to many characteristics of the concept "government": "the means of placing the retaliatory use of physical force under objective control" (4); an institution that has as its only service to offer the "forcible restraint of men" (5), etc. Now, as Miss Rand states, "when a given group of existents has more than one characteristic distinguishing it from other existents, man must observe the relationships among these various characteristics and discover the one on which all the others (or the greatest number of others) depend, i.e., the fundamental characteristic without which the others would not be possible. This fundamental characteristic is an essential distinguishing characteristic of the existents involved, and the proper characteristic of the concept." (6).

In looking at all those referents of the concept "government" in history and in the present, Miss Rand, in observing the several characteristics of the referents, has discovered and stated the essential distinguishing characteristic of the concept: "A government is an institution that holds the exclusive power to enforce certain rules of social conduct in a given geographical area." (7).

Of all characteristics of all referents subsumed under the concept "government" — past, present, and future (i.e., posted governments such as Objectivist, Utopian Socialist, etc.) — this characteristic is most fundamental and essential.

The objection may be raised that there are other institutions in a society that have the power to enforce rules of conduct, such as the institution of parents. That this objection is guilty of a stolen concept can be clearly seen from the fact that parents have the power to enforce rules of conduct on their children because the government delegates that power to them legally and that power can be taken away from parents who maltreat their children. All institutions in a given society other

than government that have power to enforce rules of conduct possess that power derivatively, viz., legally, from the government's primary power to do so. The former's power is logically dependent upon the latter's, thus to assert the former while denying the latter is to commit the fallacy of the stolen concept. (The problem of the government's right to enforce and to delegate such power, as well as those problems regarding crime and ownership will be discussed later.)

Seeing that Miss Rand has correctly applied the rule of fundamentality to the concept of government and her definition being therefore valid, we may now go on to distinguish government, which means: between what government is and has been, and what it should be. Since this is the distinction between a concept and one of the units or referents it subsumes, it follows that the concept of a proper, objective government, to be so subsumed, must possess the essential characteristic of government; however, to give a definition of an objective government we must be able to distinguish it from all others subsumed by the wider abstraction.

There are two primary means for government to enforce rules of conduct: initiatory and retaliatory. A government may initiate the use of physical force in order to enforce rules and/or it may retaliate with physical force in order to enforce rules. All present and previous governments in history have, to widely varying degrees, been a combination of both these means. The crucial distinguishing characteristic of an objective government is that it is exclusively confined to the latter (i.e., retaliatory) means.

The definition of an objective, proper government is therefore: an objective government is an institution that holds the exclusive power to enforce certain rules of social conduct in a given area, and does so solely via the use of retaliatory force.

Since the initiation of force in social relationships is in each and every case an objective evil, any government which does not restrict its actions to exclusively retaliatory force, i.e., uses initiatory force to enforce rules of conduct, is objectively evil. The question free market anarchism raises is: is it logically possible for a government to so restrict its actions? Mustn't a government necessarily initiate force to exist?

Free market anarchism answers "no" and "yes" to these questions, respectively, and concludes that the concept of an objective government is a floating abstraction. Faced with the three political alternatives: immoral government, moral government, and no government; seeing that logically, there are no other political alternatives; and asserting that there can be no such thing as "moral government", free market anarchism opts for no government, claiming this to be the only moral alternative.

Clearly, this is a non sequitur. Showing that the first two alternatives are untenable does not in any way prove the third tenable, or any less untenable; showing the first alternative to be immoral and the second invalid does not in any way prove that the third is in fact moral, or is in fact valid. Yet free market anarchism claims that the concept of "no government" is both moral and valid because the other two alternatives are either immoral or invalid. Clearly, such assertions lacking any positive proof whatsoever, are groundless.

Before discussing the logical validity of objective government, let's carry this reductio ad absurdum one step further. For free market anarchism, a moral, valid society would be a society, inhabiting a given geographical area, in which no institution holds the exclusive power to enforce certain rules of social conduct. Since they reject the concept of moral government as meaningless, this is reducible to: a society in which no institution has the exclusive power to initiate force. The key term here is "exclusive". The free market anarchist sees government, objective or non-objective, as a coercive monopoly. If it becomes a non-coercive monopoly, thereby allowing competition, its exclusive power is breached and it logically ceases to be a government.

To exist, a government must necessarily be a coercive monopoly, which logically entails the initiation of force against would-be competitors to remain in existence. Free market anarchism therefore has no objection to a society that has more than one institution, i.e., several, that enforce rules via initiatory force. *Free market anarchism can offer no objection to a society having competing agencies of initiatory force.* Their only objection is to an institution having the exclusive power to initiate force against human beings within a given geographical area; several institutions initiating force is somehow permissible.

Free market anarchism posits, therefore, as a moral ideal a society, not in which no institution can initiate force, but in which any institution can initiate force.

I do not consider this to be one of the two major flaws in anarchism, just one of the host of minor contradictions in the theory which are entailed by the major fallacies. But if the ad absurdum argument above is true, and the anarchist's critique of objective government is also true, then no alternative is morally viable and man would seem to be confronted with an inherently malevolent universe. Before attempting this conclusion, let us proceed to check our premises, and those of anarchism's, viz., those regarding the logical validity of objective government.

Let us first posit a society in which the government has declared it intends to restrict its actions exclusively to the use of retaliatory force, and proceeds to so restrict its actions. Until and unless an individual or group of individuals attempts to set up an agency of retaliatory force in competition with the government, the government remains a technical monopoly (in the anarchist's terms) and fully moral. The key point here is that the free market anarchist must freely grant that a government can in fact restrict its actions exclusively to the use of retaliatory force as long as no one attempts to compete with the government. Thus, even on the anarchist's own terms, the concept of moral objective government is empirically achievable and logically possible. It becomes, for the free market anarchist, a floating abstraction only upon the advent of someone desiring to compete with the government.

It is now obviously requisite to analyze the concept of "competing agencies of retaliatory force". For if it can be shown that this concept is logically invalid, free market anarchism will have been shown to be a floating abstraction, rather than objective government.

First, the posited society above logically entails the following state of affairs: that any action of an individual that does not initiate force upon others is legal. The individual is therefore fully free to commit any action he so desires, rational or otherwise, that does not constitute an initiation of force upon others. Far too many — indeed if not all — free market anarchists cavil at the collectivist flaws in today's society, rather than reflecting on the possibilities of this posited state of affairs and generating their criticisms from there. In such a society, the individual can protect himself in any manner he deems necessary, providing of course that he does not initiate force against another in so doing. If he is dissatisfied with governmental police protection, he can hire, or form his own, private protection agency. Since he is under no obligation to pay for governmental police protection (an objective government raises its revenue on a voluntary basis (8), he is under no obligation to avail himself of this governmental service. He may wish to be entirely responsible for his own protection, and he is free to do so, as long as he limits his actions strictly to defense.

And now we come to one of the major flaws in any variant of anarchism, such as free market anarchism or anarcho-capitalism: *anarchism can make no distinction between defense and arbitrary retaliation.* This is an absolutely crucial distinction: an individual has the inalienable right to defend himself when force is initiated against him, but he has no right whatsoever to arbitrarily retaliate in any manner his whims see fit. The initiation of force upon an individual does not grant that individual a blank

check on retaliatory force, it does not confer upon him the right to use any amount and any kind of force to retaliate against his aggressors. The individual has only the right to defend himself with an amount of force commensurate with that initiated. The individual's action ceases to be defensive and becomes retaliatory if he continues his use of force after the cessation of initiated force against him, and this continuation is justified only upon one explicit condition. Discussion of this condition shall be deferred until the above flaw is further explicated.

To state that the anarchist cannot make a distinction between defense and arbitrary retaliation is to say that it is logically impossible for him to do so. He may fully agree that the individual has a right to the former and not to the latter, he may argue that his competing agencies will have objective constitutions and may deny any use of arbitrary retaliation. But in an anarchistic society, an agency with a non-objective constitution is just as viable as an agency with an objective one. There is simply no means by which such an agency, in such a society, can be restricted to the non-arbitrary use of retaliatory force. All his protestations to the contrary, the society posited by the free market anarchist grants a blank check on the amount and kind of retaliatory force used by competing agencies, and cannot do otherwise. And in fact, most, if not all advocates of anarchism make no such distinction. This is the source of their advocacy of violent revolution and of the violence perpetrated by the mindless savages of the New Left. Indeed, their logical inability to make such a distinction invalidates any objection they might have to any amount and kind of mindless revolutionary violence; they are logically committed to the advocacy of violent, bloody revolution.

Consider what this entails. For the slightest amount of force initiated against one, e.g., a swing of the fist, an unarmed burglary, one is thereby entitled to play it deuces wild, e.g., take the burglar, once apprehended, down to one's basement and slowly torture and mutilate him to death. This example, it must be stressed, is not hyperbolic. Since no institution in an anarchist society has the exclusive power to enforce rules of conduct, any institution is fully free and able to retaliate in any manner whatsoever against any initiated force no matter how minor. Since the anarchist is incapable, logically, of making a distinction between defense and arbitrary retaliation (i.e., between reason and whims) in response to initiated force, he is logically committed to support the torturing of burglars to death, or the torturing to death of anyone who accidentally steps on the anarchist's toe. Again, this is not hyperbolic. All that a person has to do to gain total carte blanche on the use of force qualitatively and quantitatively, in a society operating on the principles of free market anarchism, is to merely claim that force has been initiated against him and he is retaliating.

One can clearly see how this applies to the advocacy of revolution as well and how, thereby, any variant of that advocacy is totally invalidated. One has a perfect right to falsify one's income tax returns as one is merely defending that which is rightfully his, and ultimately to resist with force any attempt at theft through taxation (One of course may choose not to resist, just as one may choose not to resist a thug in a dark alley demanding one's wallet.) But one is not entitled, on this basis, to murder IRS bureaucrats in cold blood or to blow up government buildings. The former is rational defense, the latter arbitrary retaliation. Revolution, *qua arbitrary retaliation* is in each and every case, invalid. It is freely granted that the higher the level of statism in a given society, the more actions of defense will approach a state of revolution, i.e., those actions are opted for. However, even in a fully statist society, such as Haiti or the Soviet Union, this approach will never actually arrive at a state of revolution which by definition condones the leap from defense to arbitrary retaliation. And in semi-statist society such as the United States, proper actions of defense are far removed from a revolutionary state.

And lastly, there are alternatives in reality. There is no one immutable Objective Legal Code, as some kind of Platonic form. Rights may be objectively implemented in a variety of ways and so may the means of objective retaliation. Within the form of objectivity and individual rights, the content of an objective legal code may be chosen by the philosophy of law from a number of equally viable alternatives. Any one existing legal code may be partly objective and partly non-objective, such as that of the United States, while the code of the Soviet Union is wholly non-objective, that of an objective society is by definition wholly objective.

In retrospect, we stated that the thesis of this essay was to prove (a) the logical validity of Objectivist political theory and (b) prove the logical invalidity of anarchism.

We have demonstrated the former by showing that an objective legal code, which is necessarily based on the concept of individual rights, is a necessary condition for the implementation of those conditions of existence which are required by a man qua rational being for his survival in a society based on a division of labor. It provides an institution that holds the exclusive power to enforce certain rules of social conduct in a given geographical area and does so solely via the use of retaliatory force. We have demonstrated the latter by showing that free market anarchism commits a stolen concept, a category mistake, and the assertion of fallacious conclusions, viz., that rights and objective retaliation are logically possible in an anarchistic society.

That the achievement of an objective legal code requires a great deal of rational thought and effort on the part of the philosophy of law is freely granted. To be difficult to dispense with this necessary condition of a moral society merely because it is difficult to achieve, however, is to be guilty of the crassest form of intellectual cowardice.

The conclusion that follows, then must be harsh:

Under the guise of Objectivist rhetoric, claiming to be guided exclusively by the principles of the philosophy of Objectivism and unwavering rationality, free market anarchism holds up as a moral, logical and practical paradigm the spectre of a society of totally rightsless creatures, in which *whim is law*, in which any individual or group of individuals is fully free and able to engage in any amount and any kind of mindless, brute physical violence for any mindless, arbitrary whim whatsoever.

It is vain for the free-market anarchist to decry this state of affairs: for these logical consequences of his theory whether he desires them or not. If he claims that his theories have been "misrepresented" or that he does not want this state of affairs, he is merely claiming that he wants to have his cake and eat it too. It is very doubtful that any advocate of anarchy would explicitly state that he desires a society ruled by whim and seeped with blood, but it is only evading these logical consequences that enabled him to advocate his ideas in the first place.

This incredible state of affairs should serve as a warning to all students of Objectivism: reason is a volitional faculty and it must be focused anew upon the advocacy of any idea. It is not known whether the advocates of free market anarchism arrived at their theories from errors of knowledge or from willful evasion generated by their hatred and fear of a society based on objectivity rather than their self-interest. It is certain, however, that no intellectually honest student of Objectivism, after considering the issues presented in this essay, can continue to seriously consider any variant of anarchy, no matter how well disguised by pseudorationalization.

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1. *Ann Found, Introduction to Objectivist Epistemology*, p. 40, The Objectivist, 1964.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
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6. *Ann Found, Introduction to Objectivist Epistemology*, p. 44.

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7. *Ann Found, Civilization: The Unholy Alliance*, p. 338.
8. *Ann Found, The Value of Selfishness*, Chapter 18, Government Financing in a Free Society, New American Library, New York, 1968.
9. *Ibid.*, Chapter 14, The Nature of Government. The reader is strongly urged to read or reread thoroughly this article. In the light of this essay, a thorough reading or re-reading of this article should clearly demonstrate to the reader the absurdity of the overall critique of Objectivist political theory.



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LUNAR LUNACY

Granted, the space program is an intellectually brilliant achievement demonstrating beyond evasion the magnificent capacity of man's mind. But the Pyramids of Egypt were technological marvels of ingenious engineering precision too. And their political subsidy via slave labor and plundered treasures made them tombstones for all that was good in Egypt — an industrious agrarian middle class — as well as the literal tombs of the Pharaohs.

The OMNIPOTENT STATE thrives in the intellectual bankruptcy of ideological chaos. And neo-mystical, deterministic dogmas with which emotionally deceive and herd to the "collective" audience are sought vigorously by all power lusting Statists. Collectivist Utopias, Manifest Destiny, Blind Nationalism have all served their turn. Racial Solidarity is being exploited today. Will INTERPLANETARY PREDESTINATION be next?

What must not be ignored about the space program is that it is an almost total misallocation of current resources — a program that would have been limited to satellite communications and global data collection by the free market. The OCEAN is the next great physical and commercial frontier to which rational men should apply their technology and capital. AND THE FREE MARKET WOULD HAVE ALREADY OPENED THE OCEAN IF NOT FOR THE POLITICAL-ECONOMY STATE'S ROCKETRY BIAS. Statist economic controls developed rocketry into weaponry in Nazi Germany; then harnessed rocketry for defense in the global arms races; and then carried rocketry into the space race as an outlet and excuse for the military-industrial complex of government subsidized industry. AS JOHN GLEN SAID — The manned lunar landing was not economically rational, nor physically necessary; but was done because of the "unquestionable" need for American "pre-eminence" in space. (Complete social metaphysics, status seeking).

When will Mr. Citizen ever realize that VANITY is bitter emptiness, and that PRIDE resides in objective achievement? AMERICA HAS A GREATER PRODUCTIVITY AND DISTRIBUTION OF CONSUMER GOODS THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY. The happiness of its INDIVIDUAL citizens is its greatest economic glory — not the empty image of an American flag on the moon or Olympic gold medals on American athletes.

BUT THE WORST IS YET TO COME. Lunar Lunacy was but the first step in what may very well evolve into the modern Omnipotent State's equivalent of the Roman Circuses — complementing the fact that we already have "bread" for the masses in ever burgeoning welfare schemes. An "opiate for the people", a psychological distraction for the plundered producers being consumed — such will be the psycho-political function of the ever revitalized "space probes", the ever refurbished "interplanetary predestination" dogma. Can anyone doubt or debunk the impact of a Billy Graham Planetary Plea for global unity FROM THE MOON — broadcasting at the time of a formal Russo-American Detente Pact in the year 2000? He'll still be alive just thirty years from now friends.

CAN ANYONE FAIL TO SEE THE PSYCHO-POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF A GOVERNMENT RUN SPACE PROGRAM — with taxation and inflation as unevadable revenue tools, with herds of bureaucratic dependents to amplify the charismatic call to develop the planets first, the neighborhoods last? Politicians of even more subjective personalities than Johnson & Nixon — who will inherit the Political-Economy State machinery — will find it irresistibly easy to further the cause of GLOBAL REGIMENTATION FOR PLANETARY PREDESTINATION.

Such degeneration begins with the government's "right" to direct the lives of individuals by dictating their economic actions. And it stands revealed by the blatant error of expending millions to develop travel to near useless rocks in space — when the continental shelves just fifty feet down from our shores add up to the same amount of land as the moon's surface. The moon's surface is desolate desert without breathable atmosphere and no life. Except for observation of Earth — which can be almost as well achieved by satellite — it is useless. The continental shelves are teeming alive with human values, in the form of endlessly abundant seafood (fish and plants), space for practical undersea housing, and endlessly refreshing forms of recreation both surface and sub-surface. The sea is filled with minerals for energy and agriculture. The moon is not, and wouldn't be commercially accessible because of transportation costs even if it were solid green cheese — a good fertilizer. The ocean offers food for our hungry "overpopulation". (Only irrational lethargy and waste makes the concept of overpopulation valid. Rational men can always overcome population growth no matter how rapid — except when Political-Economy Bureaucratic dictators misdirect human energy.) The ocean offers room for physical expansion, mineral deposits and other human resources, even desalinated water for human consumption. The moon has none of this.

AND AS REGARDS THE VERY REAL "SPIN OFF" FROM SPACE TECHNOLOGY, remember, such "spin off" of new discoveries results from any large step taken by men. The Pyramids gave a "spin off" to medicine in the subsidized study of mummification. The problem always is — what central integrating goal is it that we're striving for? And is that goal better than any other alternative?

And if the free market with its billions of individual minds — instead of bureaucrats with billions of unearned funds — is relied upon to evaluate the goal, the result is billions of times more likely to be relevant and not wasteful.

And the "leader", whose lust for power bewails the "unbearable" time and energy required to PERSUADE millions of men to make themselves a profit, is simply confessing the irrationality of his desires or the inadequacy of his knowledge on what is best for man. Nobody finds it "unbearably" hard to get men to make a profit. The real struggle is defining what actually is profitable.

If your cause is just and your leadership effective, volunteers will invest in you. But billions of dollars in extorted funds signifies deceit and ineptitude.

—Bakhaus

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